1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

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lages themselves is rather insignificant, even though the party does claim some members in the local area. For example, many of the mainlanders who work in the area in some official capacity are Kuomintang members. Taiwanese involved in *hsiang* and *hsien* politics often belong to the party. In addition, some better educated Taiwanese who hold local civil service jobs in the Public Office or in the school system are members. There are even a few ordinary and uneducated village men who have been drawn into party membership, possibly from ambition. Thus, the village storekeeper and the twenty-one-year-old son of one of the poorer families of the village are party members. As far as can be determined, though, these men play an insignificant and relatively inactive part even in local party affairs. A perhaps typical attitude toward membership in the Kuomintang was "such things are not for honest working people."

VILLAGE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP

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Hsin Hsing village itself has several elected officials which include a mayor, a village representative to the *hsiang* council, and the heads of each of the seven *lin* into which the village is divided. Of these offices, those of the mayor and the village representative are most important, since these individuals actually have a formal function within the village as well as in its outside relations. The mayor organizes and conducts the village meetings which are usually held once every two months, organizes the village for its annual work session on local public projects, and stands as the direct intermediary between the village and the police and local government. In a lesser way, the village representative who meets regularly with the district council serves the important function of maintaining the village's relationship with the other villages of the *hsiang* and with the *hsiang* officials.

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The role of the *lin chang* (neighborhood chief) is relatively simple; he aids the mayor and village representative in communicating with the villagers. He summons the people to village meetings, work sessions, and any other official functions which require the participation of the whole village or a specific part of it. (Nonofficial village functions such as religious rituals are usually led by other men.)

T 622 624 554 (602)

As in traditional China, the village officials, i.e., the mayor and the village representative, who are now elected, in almost all instances are men of some means (usually large landholders or, most likely, landlords). They usually have many outside contacts through large family networks. Ideally, they are educated and generally respected, and preferably they are men with some local prestige who are willing to use that prestige for the benefit of the village. Again, as will be seen later,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Again, as will be seen later the villagers who fit this description—wealthy, educated, with many outside contacts through family—have usually been members of the landlord class.

While in most instances these village officials are among the recognized leaders of the community, there are usually in addition informal, nonelected local leaders who are influential in the village and area. Such informal leaders are very often also wealthy landlords, important in their kinship group, and many times wield a great deal of power from behind the scenes. Informal leaders also may be drawn from the ranks of less wealthy men who, by virtue of their education and perhaps age as well as past displays of community responsibility, have gained the respect of the community.

Each village household has a single vote in the selection of any village official. The job of *lin chang* is relatively insignificant, and although a formal election is held, the *lin chang* is usually selected in advance by consensus of the families in the *lin*. But this is not usually the case with the mayor and village representative. Both positions have a rather high prestige in both the village and area, and as a result there may be competition for these offices. If there is competition, it is usually between men who represent the natural cleavages in the village. These cleavages for the most part follow kinship lines.

Many relationships within the village are greatly affected by kinship. Often, especially during elections or in times of conflict, there tend to be alignments between socially integrated exogamous family groupings on the basis of their relationship through patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence. Because of their demonstrated common descent, such village kinship groupings interact in various activities so that they exert considerable sociopolitical influence in the village and at times, to some minor degree, in the immediate area. While one localized grouping has a population of about one hundred and thirty-five, and another slightly below one hundred, other groupings have fewer people and member families, and also lesser influence in the village. Each of the groupings, however, is similarly organized with a main group head and subheads of smaller descent lines or groupings, and each attempts to compete in village affairs for the benefit of its members. The villagers refer to the above groupings as *tsu* (lineages), even though they are far from being the equivalent in size and organization of the *tsu* described and discussed by Hu (1948) or even Freedman (1958). (This and other such matters on family and kinship organization will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.) Thus, Hsin Hsing, like so many other villages in Taiwan as well as in Fukien, is a multi-*tsu* village. (Within each village *tsu*, collateral relatives refer to each other as *ch'in tsu*, meaning relatives of the same *tsu*.) But since the *tsu* in Hsin Hsing village are not large in population, all members also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

However, since the organization, as the official agent in the rural area for the provincial Food Bureau, must perform a number of unpleasant tasks such as the collection of rice and loans, this leads to some distrust of the Farmers' Association by the farmer.

The Farmers' Association has three basic functions. The first, and perhaps the most important, of its functions is its extension services. Many of these are performed with the financial and advisory cooperation of the JCRR. The second function is moneylending, which is of two kinds: loans to farmers by the association itself and loans to farmers by the provincial Food Bureau under the management of the association. The third function is performing, for a fee, some of the work of the provincial Food Bureau. The association sells fertilizer to the farmer and collects (handles and/or stores) rice from the farmer to pay for it. It collects rice for the land tax, for the required rice sale to the government, and for the semiannual payments in kind on land purchased from the government under the Land Reform Program.

Extension Services

The extension services offered by local Farmers' Associations vary a great deal from district to district. Because of the extension services it offers, the association in Pu Yen Hsiang is known to be one of the very best on the island. These services include educational instruction, sponsoring of 4-H Clubs, provision of rental farm implements, providing cash subsidies and loans to members to encourage farm improvements and modernization, and sale to members of such items as seed, bean cake, and bicycles below the market price.

The forms of instruction sponsored by the Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association have been varied and apparently successful. Regular sewing classes are held for the daughters of members, and since the classes are free, many village families wish to take advantage of the opportunity. However, the facilities are so limited that when classes are held, each village may send only a small quota based on the number of association members in the village. In Hsin Hsing large numbers of girls wish to attend the classes, and it is the responsibility of the formal village leaders—the mayor, the village representative, and the village Farmers' Association unit head—to select the students. However, usually the village leaders wish to avoid any possible conflict or criticism over their choices, and, although some girls may meet the qualifications set up by the association better than others, straws are drawn to determine which girls will attend. The method all too often sends less qualified girls to the classes, and these often drop out before the course is over. Several Hsin Hsing villagers have complained of the wastefulness of this method of choice, and claim that the village leaders are refusing to assume their full responsibility.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

home whenever his labor is required by the family. Other young men peddle vegetables in the slack season. The only equipment necessary is a strong bicycle. The young men go to the market town of Yuan Lin early in the morning to buy vegetables and then sell them along a regular route of villages. Very often they peddle in villages where they have friends or *ch'in ch'i* relatives who can introduce them to potential customers. A young man peddling vegetables can earn NT $10 or more a day, which he will give to the head of the household.

A few village men earn money as rice or land brokers in the local area. There are also several village men who earn extra income as professional cooks at weddings or other local festivals. A few of the older men may on occasion still go up into the interior mountains or hills for several days to find herbs which they sell to Chinese druggists, but this part-time occupation is not as commonly engaged in now as it was in the past.

Several girls and young women of the village have recently gone away from home to work in a sugar factory in the mountains. The sugar companies send men to the villages to recruit them; later a company truck comes to pick up all the recruits from the area and take them to the factory, where they live in dormitories.

Village women and girls also weave fiber hats at home in their spare time. The white fiber, made from the bark of a tree, is supplied by factory agents from Lukang who travel from village to village leaving the fiber with the women, picking up the completed hats on subsequent stops. The women, who may work on one hat sporadically for several days, receive between NT $6 to NT $12 for each hat depending on the quality of the fiber worked. These hats are then finished in small factories for export.

The most important outlet for the excess labor of the Hsin Hsing village area since the late 1940's has been employment in Taipei. The income for the villagers earned by work or business in Taipei has been steadily increasing, as has the number of villagers going there. The village representative and his son, who is employed in the district Public Office, estimated that 35 percent of the total village income in 1957–1958 was derived from work or business outside the village area, mainly from work in Taipei. Most villagers send their earnings home in small sums, either by registered mail or by a fellow villager. The remaining 65 percent of the village income was estimated as follows: about 45 percent from rice production, 6.5 percent from the marketing of vegetables, 6.5 percent from the sale of menthol oil, 3 percent from farm labor, and 4 percent from other sources. The income which the villager earns as a laborer in Taipei is not included for tax purposes with the farm income.

In 1958 there were about one hundred Hsin Hsing village residents

621 There are no wealthy families in Sanlei Ts'un al-
556 though there are substantial differences in life style between the poorest and the richest. There is a direct relationship between family size and relative economic position. Moreover, wealthy individuals are believed to be the most competent and usually, the most virtuous. Most of the formal and informal community leaders are drawn from the wealthier families.

621 Liao-surnamed families dominate the upper class
613 group in the village. Only two families surnamed Chiu (sharing the same great grandfather) have joined this group. One is a tea processor and the other owns one of the two village stores. Some Chiu female descendants have married Liao men in the village. However, almost every village leader, formal or informal, is surnamed Liao. The only two major exceptions are a Huang who is the stepson of a Liao and who gave up one of his sons to his Liao-surnamed step-brother and a Chien who is an adopted husband in a Liao family.

621 Every ten or twelve contiguous hu are officially
624 combined into lin (neighborhoods). Each lin has a lin chang (lin head or neighborhood leader) who is selected
632 by consensus. The next larger significant government
666 unit is the li. There is a regular one-man one-vote election for the li chang (mayor) and for a representative to the township council, the next higher level administrative

562 identical opinions. In the previous discussion of Sanlei
666 voting behavior, the ability of a man to delude himself
183 into thinking his wife voted as he did is positively related to the domestic harmony which is highly evaluated in the village.

Divisions of Local Government and Politics

621 There are three formal units of government at the local level and one unit which is important but does not fit well into the system. The smallest significant political unit is the lin or neighborhood. In the Sanlei area, each lin contains about 10 or 11 contiguous households.

624 Each lin has a lin chang (neighborhood leader) who is elected on the basis of consensus in Sanlei at an open meeting. He is responsible for communicating directives to the people and aiding the local mayor in carrying out his duties. Because a lin chang may be held responsible for what happens in his lin, there is some reluctance to assume the office. We heard many times that under the Japanese, a village lin chang once spent three days in jail after a bandit was arrested in his lin. Also people say that the office means only work with no corresponding power or money.

632 The next larger formal important political unit is the li which has three officers: the li chang (li head or mayor), the representative who serves on the township council, and the village secretary. The first two are

592 562 latter figure appears high but is consistent with the arguments advanced in this paper, i.e., the structural position of women is not inferior to men to the degree suggested in the traditional literature. It is higher than the 12% chia chang who are female listed by Barclay for Taiwanese households in 1920 and 1930 (1954:182) and also exceeds the percentage in the previously mentioned Shihlin survey of nearly 14% (P.K.C. Liu, 1967:34). In the case of four of these Sanlei female heads, a husband or son is the practical or effective head. In the remaining nine however, the villagers recognize the woman as the effective head by inviting her participation as the family representative in such affairs as village meetings, the parent teachers association, and temple affairs. In six of the nine cases, there is an adult male who would be capable of assuming responsibility. One woman during our stay in the village became the "assistant pot master" in charge of her lin (village subdivision) during the "Fire Purification" ceremony although she had an adopted husband at home.[8]

[624]

592 621 591 The birthplace of the current chia chang and the means by which they entered the village are indicative of the nature of village history with its emphasis on continuity. Of the 66, 49 were born in Sanlei and 3 were adopted-in as small children or babies. This means that nearly 80% of the chia chang were raised in Sanlei. Most

794 778 temple is the central focus for various religious festivals that punctuate the yearly cycle. There is a major 778 794 623 temple committee, selected by a process of consensus, consisting of the senior and most respected men in the community. The committee is in charge of a small plot of paddy land, the income from which goes to support the temple caretaker. The committee is also responsible for the maintenance of the temple and for coordination of temple affairs.

796 794 624 [787] Those religious affairs which are regular, occurring on a standard date each year, are not managed by the major temple committee. Rather, each chia chang or his representative comes to the temple and casts the shen pei[3] with its falls interpreted as a yes or no. Whoever obtains the most yes votes before receiving a no is the Lu Chu (pot master) in charge of the next event. He has assistant potmasters on the spcial committee, one from each lin (legal subdivision of the village) chosen in the same [562] manner. Potmasters have never been female but females have been permitted to cast the sticks to attempt the office and females are often assistant potmasters.[4]

796 62 794 The special committee is responsible for planning the scheduled event and raising the money to pay for it. If no one on the committee is experienced, a member of the major temple committee is usually added as an ex officio member.[5] A special committee will meet six or seven times for planning purposes, the members sounding

778 There is no permanent individual in charge of the temple
796 which belongs to the entire community. Each particular
794 festival has a lu chu (pot master) in charge and a com-
• 624
787 mittee of assistant pot masters, one from each of the six village lin, all chosen by the gods through casting the shen pei. Whoever obtains the most "yes" answers before his first "no" is considered to have been selected by the gods for the position. The last part of any yearly event requires casting the shen pei to determine the next year's committee. Since there are two major regular events each year plus periodic special affairs, each requiring a unique committee of seven, many villagers are involved in temple committees at any particular moment in time.

562 Women have never been the pot master but they have
624 regularly been assistant pot masters. Gallin claims this
794 is an unusual role for women in the Chang-hua area in
[006] which he worked (personal communication). Sanlei villagers believe it is natural because the pot masters and assistant pot masters are said to be selected solely by the gods. Eligible candidates who cast the shen pei include all village chia chang (household heads) and since the chia chang are usually males, the unusualness may be deceiving. That is, female lu chu may be rare only because female chia chang are relatively rare and not because there is some normative bias against female lu chu. As previously stated, female chia chang are more numerous in Sanlei than

562 in many other areas of Taiwan. The only other office to
• 624 which females are elected in Sanlei is the parent teacher's
[594] association although as chia chang, females are eligible for any political office. (Women from some other li around Hsin Tien are elected to the township council.) This explanation of the relationship between the percentage of female lu chu and the percentage of female chia chang cannot be tested without further data from other regions of Taiwan.

358 The only semi-permanent temple official is the caretaker who tends the temple, keeps it clean, puts flowers in the vases, chases out children when they are too noisy, and watches for thieves. He receives the income from a small piece of temple-owned land but since it is not adequate to pay for a regular worker's services, the caretaker's job is always filled by one of the semi-retired
783 old men who has extra leisure time. The current caretaker
[358] replaced the former caretaker two years ago because his wife had died rendering him ritually unclean for three years. People who are ritually unclean, i.e., those in mourning or women who are menstruating, should not enter the temple lest they contaminate the gods.

Temple Gods

79% There are many different shen (gods) who are all arranged in a great pantheon not unlike an emperor with his officials descending down to the level of the local

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796 people therefore felt that the ceremony was not really
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621 theirs. One sworn brother explained that he got the idea and started the whole process because of a ceremony he attended at a village near Hsin Tien.

The three sworn brothers associations had originally
[624] planned to conduct the "tail" in the same manner. However, after many discussions over a period of time lasting nearly a year, it was decided to handle it in nearly the same manner as most ceremonies except that the committee would not only include a pot master and an assistant from each of the six lin, but one assistant from each of the
[787] three sworn brothers associations. One of the ten com-
[562] mittee members was a female, selected by the gods in the usual way by casting the shen pei.

783 In the meantime, the temple committee for the Erhlei
796 temple, the temple which actually encompassed all Talei Li,
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632 decided they could not let the Sanlei temple get too far ahead because the li temple was supposedly higher in rank. They therefore planned a "Fire Purification Ceremony" of their own. It would be a much more elaborate one-occasion type falling between the Sanlei "head" and "tail" ceremonies.

621 The first task of the Sanlei committee was to select
632 a date. This was not an easy task for the date had to be
783 auspicious, not too close to other religious holidays, not
794 too close to the li Fire Purification Ceremony, and during
796

512 443 The vegetable peddler returned by 10:00 a.m., sold out the last of his load, had a nap, and will work in the fields most of the afternoon. Typically, five or six salesmen will come through the village selling cloth, clothes, medicine, brooms, etc., directly to householders or to call on the two village stores. The pig man sells to fu every other day, and when he arrives people gather to make purchases and gossip. The village secretary from Hsin Tien visits about three times each week and the policeman from Pouti rarely misses wandering around part of each day.

512 [624] [625]

512 264 Dinner time varies, later in the hot weather, but usually around 5:30 to 6:30 p.m. Dinner is always hot and is the meal most likely to be eaten as a family unit while gathered around a table but since some families are large and many tables are small, the women who cook often eat while standing up in the kitchen and the children, who started earlier, squat in the doorway. A small child will sit in someone's lap and be helped with food and encouraged to eat. Evening worship is performed in the same manner as morning worship. On religious holidays it always precedes dinner but on other days it may either be before or after dinner.

[855] [782]

[356] 512 461 After dinner, women will clean the kitchen while men repair tools. Both men and women who work in the fields will plan and discuss the next day's activities for few people enjoy working alone and even when labor is not being